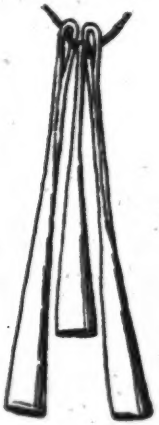
291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.



301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. 413 (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Marangara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and 531 have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a 322 triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

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provided by both sections of the army, according to forty-one per cent. by the herdsmen only.

All these services or dues were required only from Tutsi and from Hutu possessing cattle. Other Hutu replaced them by tributes consisting of agricultural produce (said ninety-two per cent. of our informants) and Twa by products from pottery or hunting.

The army-chief, too, could claim several dues from the army to his profit. When appointed to his charge, he was offered a cow (*indabukirano*) as a present recognizing his authority. According to a few informants, that present could consist of hoes or sheep for those who had no cattle, but ninety-two per cent. said such a present was necessarily a cow. As the king, the army-chief, when he was nominated to his office, had the right to have the cattle of his army numbered, presented to him, and a certain percentage offered to him (*murundo*). Ninety-six per cent. of our informants say that the presentation was always made at the same time as the recognition was offered. But certain informants indicate that the army-chief could not require the numbering to be done before a certain time had elapsed since the numbering for his predecessor. Moreover, according to eighty-three per cent. of our informants, the army-chief had to obtain the mwami's permission before summoning a numbering meeting. The cows kept by the army-chief were put at his effective disposal according to all informants. They were entrusted to the army herdsmen (according to eighty-eight per cent.), to army herdsmen only (according to thirty-five per cent.), and to them and *to inkomamashyi*, herdsmen alien to the army (according to fifty-three per cent.).

An army member, on certain occasions, principally when wanting to obtain a favour, used to give his chief a cow called *ituro*.

Finally, the army-chief could claim a certain part of the loot collected during an expedition in which his army had participated (*intorano*: cattle raided). Moreover, if the expedition had been a brilliant success, he received as a reward from the mwami a gift of several dozen cows.

(*e*) *Advantages for the members*

When in difficulty army members could ask for their chief's protection which could not be refused unless they had previously been disloyal to their chief. A chief could prevent a member of his

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army from being submitted to judiciary torture; he could be his surety if the member was unable to repay a debt. When one desired to obtain a favour, such as to be judged by the mwami, it was very useful to be accompanied by one's army-chief, said twenty-seven per cent. of informants. (Thirty-nine per cent., however, would have preferred to be accompanied by their lord and eighteen per cent. would have wished to have both of them.)

A client wanting to lodge a complaint against his lord requested his army-chief's intervention, according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants. (However seven per cent. thought that it was better to address the complaint to the lord's army-chief and eleven per cent. to the mwami.) A lord dissatisfied with his client could raise the question before his own army-chief according to fifty-three per cent. of the informants (thirteen per cent. would rather have gone to the client's army-chief and 9.3 per cent. to the mwami).

When a dispute concerning cattle arose between two Tutsi of the same army, it was judged by the army-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. of the informants. If the two litigants belonged to different armies, the case was settled by both army-chiefs, according to eighty-two per cent. of the informants.

The army-chief was chosen by the king and could be dismissed by him. Army members had the right to bring a charge against him at the mwami's, according to eighty-three per cent. In that case they sent delegates from the army to the court, said seventy-two per cent.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY STRUCTURE

We are accustomed to regard an army as first 'the instrument of force in external relations'. It must defend the territory of the community against external threats and eventually attempt to expand the territory or to subdue alien groups. In Ruanda armies had other functions besides this.

(a) *Warlike function*

Permanent encampments established not far from the borders were defensive indeed, but they were also bases for expeditions into neighbouring territories. Whatever their frequency, it is certain that they were foci for strong feelings of admiration, pride, and emulation. Many features of these events exalted the spirit of

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The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

701 703 173 [198] [182]

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[89] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture. 121

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military 86 868 000

[89] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services.

(c) *Army and lineage*

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such.

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting